

JPRS 83567

27 May 1983

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1412

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INTERNATIONAL

FRG CENSUS PLANS SEEN AS INSTRUMENT OF 'REPRESSION,' MILITARIZATION

DW150853 Moscow in German to Germany 1500 GMT 14 Apr 83

[Text] According to reports from Bonn, it has been decided to suspend the planned census in view of the public's broad protests against the attempt of total inquisition. Our commentator, Vladimir Ostrogorskiy, has the following comment:

Strictly speaking, the suspension of the 1983 census is a victory for the FRG public in the struggle against the country's conversion into a police state. For the time being, the computers intended for storing the results of counting the people between the Rhine and Elbe will remain empty.

The attempt by FRG state organs and the arms industries to put all of the FRG people under a glass dome in one stroke has turned into a scandalous fiasco. Still, this does not mean, of course [words indistinct]. The state institutions of repression, above all the Federal Intelligence Service and the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, as well as the private detectives of various monopolies, have a huge arsenal of electronic data collecting facilities and numerous agents and informers, and their opportunities are increasing. Politicians who are in the way of the authorities and of monopoly capital are no longer the only ones under surveillance; people considered to be dissidents are also included now.

The purpose of investigations of this nature is to denounce as criminal and put on record any deviation from the course for daily life prescribed by the ruling elite--any protest against war preparations or the dismantling of social benefits, for example. Previously only recidivist felons received this treatment.

The police actions--called population census 83--have basically been practiced daily for quite some time, and have, of course, other objectives than purely statistical surveys by the state authorities.

Testifying to this, for example, is the draft bill on restricting the right to demonstrate which is being prepared in Bonn. This bill amounts to a tightening of previous legislation and to an intensification of the punitive measures against people for whom for a long time demonstrating has been the only avenue for them to express their views on sociopolitical issues.

It is generally known that the snooping apparatus of those people who can impose vocational bans now employs hundreds of thousands of people. We hear that in Bavaria, applicants for public service jobs--ranging from a railroad switchman to a mailman--are required not only to be loyal to the state and the constitution but also to have a mode of thinking a la Strauss. In this respect, the trailblazers of Munich believe they have set the signals for the whole FRG.

From history we know that police inquisition and administrative terror on German soil have always coincided with the militarization of the whole country. For this reason, the current intensification of the authoritarian and antidemocratic tendencies in the FRG must be viewed in close connection with such projects as the deployment of new U.S. missiles.

The recognition of this invisible interrelation is the precondition for even closer concerted action between the antiwar movement and of the movements fighting against all antiauthoritarian [as heard] trends. The suspension of the 1983 census in the FRG shows how a country's destiny can be influenced.

CSO: 3620/337

## INTERNATIONAL

### BRIEFS

SRV DELEGATION IN TAJIKISTAN--A large group of activists and leaders of branches of the Vietnamese-Soviet Friendship Society was in Tajikistan for several days. Nguyen Thi Bat Tuyet, chairman of the Dongnay Province committee of the Fatherland Front, headed the delegation of representatives of the intelligentsia of the southern provinces of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. [Excerpt]  
[Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 26 Apr 83 p 3]

FOREIGN POLICY DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED--The first volume of an anthology of USSR foreign policy documents entitled "For Peace and the Peoples' Security" ('Za mir i bezopasnost narodov') has been published. With this volume the USSR Foreign Ministry commission for the Publication of Diplomatic Documents is launching the regular publication of Soviet foreign policy documents since the 1966 23d CPSU Congress, which was of great significance for the pursuit of the USSR's peace-loving foreign policy. The volume has been published by the Political Literature Publishing House. TASS. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 May 83 First Edition p 4]

CSO: 1807/258



NATIONAL

MOSCOW TV NOTES EFFECTIVENESS OF TELEVISED CRITICISM

LD281930 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1300 GMT 28 Apr 83

[From the Vremya newscast]

[Text] Commentator Yevgeniy Sinitsyn will tell you about replies to criticism on the "Vremya" program.

[Sinitsyn] Good day, comrades. One should mention that the reaction to critical remarks and wishes directed at somebody is effective on television. It indicates an awareness of the tasks which now face our national economy in saving material and technical resources and in improving all links in the economic machinery. A warning signal which is acted upon correctly results in the rectification of specific shortcomings--in other words, the strengthening of a link in an enterprise's work.

So, what replies have we received? Here is an example. The Severnoye Siyaniye floating power station plays an important role in the unified power loop which is now being set up on Chukotka. Its electric power is being used as intended. However, it also generates heat and this heat has been wasted to date. [Video shows the floating power station and its control panel, cutting to shots of facilities still under construction then cutting to a shot of Sinitsyn interviewing an unidentified official from the power station]

[Unidentified official] Unfortunately, construction of the boilerhouse has not been completed. Basically, only the foundations have been laid; the heat supply network has not been built.

[Sinitsyn] Production installations and housing are in extreme need of this heat. All of the onshore structures are the responsibility of the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy. We have received an answer from this ministry. The answer says that if it is deemed expedient to continue using the Arctic power station, the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy will make it incumbent upon the builders to complete the construction of the boilerhouse and the laying of a heat supply line to the settlement of Ryrkaypiy and Mys Shmidtta as rapidly as possible so that the heat of exhaust gases from the gas turbines can be used. The reply is signed by Comrade Zhmurko, the deputy minister. [Video shows letter and signature]

Now I will remind you of film which was taken recently at the Archangel Pulp and Paper Combine. Yes, it's the same old story. There are no trucks to transport all of the product to its destination. [Video shows large rolls of paper in high stacks] The factory grounds are choked with it. All of the storage areas are full. During the first quarter of 1983 alone, the combine received over 2,000 trucks less than it should have done.

The reply from the ministry of railways was not long in coming. Steps were taken immediately. A letter signed by Comrade Ginko, the deputy minister, says that the culprits have been fined. [Video shows letter and signature] The combine is now being supplied with more trucks. However, an authoritative commission established that the low supply of trucks was not the sole reason for the accumulation of the finished product. Another reason was the unsatisfactory organization of dispatch and the excessive time taken to load rolling stock. So the transportation department of the Archangel combine must share some of the blame for the situation that arose. As it happens, the question of trucks spending excessive time on enterprises sidings is still on the agenda, as they say. The normal time allowed is being exceeded at many enterprises; it is not just the Archangel workers who need to bear this in mind.

Those are the sort of replies we have received. We will tell you about them from time to time, comrades, as more come in.

CSO: 1800/1203

NATIONAL

#### PARTY INTERNAL STRUGGLES: IMPORTANCE OF CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM

АВРАМОВА Moscow THEORETICAL HISTORY KPSS in Russian No 4 (signed in press 10 Jan 81)  
pp 77-84

[Article by A.A. Abramova: "The Party Struggle for Developing Criticism and Self-Criticism in the Period Between the 15th and 16th VCP(B) Congresses"—passages between slantlines are published in boldface]

[Text] The entire history of the struggle of our party for implementing Lenin's plan of socialist construction and for building and further perfecting developed socialism is a convincing confirmation of V.I. Lenin's idea that the "work of real building is in the application of criticism and its content" (V.I. Lenin: Complete Works, Vol 42, p 37)

Indications as to the place and role of criticism and self-criticism in the revolutionary-transforming activity of the CPSU run through many of Lenin's works and party documents. Quite a few papers by Soviet scholars are also devoted to this subject. [At this point there are two footnotes citing a large number of Lenin's works, party documents and works by Soviet authors which are said to have discussed criticism and self-criticism.] Their main conclusion regarding the essence of the historical experience of the CPSU in applying criticism and self-criticism is that at every stage the strength of the party lies in its ability to boldly raise and solve the existing problems and the unsolved tasks while involving in this the broad masses of communist and party members.

The party closely links the implementation of certain measures with developing criticism and self-criticism and with inculcating in every communist and every Soviet person an organic need to self-critically analyze his own actions. As V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee emphasized, such measures are at present directed toward "waging a more decisive struggle against all violations of party, state and labor discipline." ("Materials of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of 22 November 1981" Moscow, 1982, p 11)

In the light of this task the historical experience of the CPSU in utilizing criticism and self-criticism at certain stages of socialist building and, in particular, in the period between the 15th and 16th VKP(B) Congresses, when the reconstruction of the entire country's economy was underway and preparations for a full-scale socialist offensive had started, this experience is undoubtedly of interest.

...the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the 19th Party Congress, which was held in Moscow in 1957, revealed the main ideological type of the official propaganda of the official version. In order to overcome the backwardness of the Soviet Union in the field of science and technology, the Party called for a radical change in the system of management of the economy.

In the 1950s, the workers of the USSR had already acquired a certain experience in managing the country and production and in struggling to improve the living standards of the population. The official propaganda of the Party in the 1950s was based on the idea that the workers of the USSR had already acquired a certain experience in managing the country and production and in struggling to improve the living standards of the population. The official propaganda of the Party in the 1950s was based on the idea that the workers of the USSR had already acquired a certain experience in managing the country and production and in struggling to improve the living standards of the population.

The Party was faced with the task of ensuring that not only the workers, but also the working peasants--who comprised four-fifths of the Soviet population--the vast majority of the population--were possessed of the necessary knowledge and skills to manage the country and production and in struggling to improve the living standards of the population. The official propaganda of the Party in the 1950s was based on the idea that the workers of the USSR had already acquired a certain experience in managing the country and production and in struggling to improve the living standards of the population. The official propaganda of the Party in the 1950s was based on the idea that the workers of the USSR had already acquired a certain experience in managing the country and production and in struggling to improve the living standards of the population.

Under these conditions the significance of the leading activity of the party and the degree of its responsibility became even greater. The Congress said: "Fulfillment of the economic tasks facing the country in the sphere of economic construction in the coming 5-year period, the Congress emphasizes that the party workers, without exception, they hold--from a point of view of a worker up to the highest organs of Party leadership--must give an example of labor heroism, they must be the most strenuous, accurate and rationally organized work." (Ibid., p. 27) The Congress, in its view, the creative and creative activity of the Party itself was regarded as a pledge for successfully fulfilling the 5-year plan and, therefore, raising the level of well-being of the masses and strengthening the position of socialism. (Ibid.)

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After the 15th VPK(B) Congress, which had taken the course toward developing further the socialist reconstruction and collectivizing agriculture, the party intensified its work of mobilizing the working people for the struggle to accelerate socialist construction. As this happened, the resistances put up by kulaks and the residue of exploiter classes in the cities as well as by the opportunist within the party and bureaucratic elements in the state apparatus became more fierce. In the village the kulaks refused to sell surplus grain to the state, reduced the amount of land under cultivation and carried out propaganda among the peasants against the grain procurement campaign; in the industry and state apparatus and in the sphere of planning there were more frequent acts of sabotage and persistent bureaucracy coming from underground counterrevolutionary groups formed by the former socialist-revolutionaries, renegades and lackeys. The exacerbation of class contradictions in the country was used by the trait-baiters and the rightist opposition for renewed attacks and slander against the party.

In this situation and in connection with the "Mike (shakhtinskoye) affair" which had revealed the sabotage and disorganizing activity of the former mine-owners and old specialists in the mining industry (See "CPSU in Resolutions and Decisions..." Vol 4, p 84), the April (1928) joint Plenum of the VPK(B) Central Committee and the Central Control Commission discussed the question of the practical tasks connected with the struggle against the shortcomings in the economic development. The plenum noted that the party leadership of economic affairs is often reduced to general declarative resolutions. As a rule, there is no control over the execution of adopted decisions. There are cases of inattentive attitude to the workers' complaints about economic shortcomings and mistakes in the work of professional and party committees. Quite often party leaders confine themselves to voicing formal criticism of the shortcomings of local and central offices instead of actively struggling to eliminate the shortcomings as such. "Nepotism," "friendly connections" and so forth affect the choice of cadres and work with them.

The plenum envisaged a number of practical measures to overcome the revealed shortcomings. The main precondition for their implementation was to be the "actual implementation of the slogan of the 15th Congress on self-criticism as well as a substantial improvement of the work of party organizations in implementing democracy within the party and intensifying the everyday struggle against the shortcomings in the work of party, professional, Soviet and economic organs." (Ibid. p 93) Further, having analyzed the situation in 1927-first half of 1928, the party Central Committee came to the conclusion that it was necessary to appeal to the broad masses to intensify their public-political activity, organize people's control and develop criticism and self-criticism. On 3 June 1928 the VPK(B) Central Committee adopted an appeal to all party members and all workers to develop self-criticism. (Ibid. pp 94-95) It was explained in the appeal that the very fact of raising the question about self-criticism is dictated by the tasks of reshaping our economic and cultural life in a way which would make it possible to transform our fatherland from a poor and illiterate country into a rich and highly cultured socialist country with first-class technology, organized national economy and educated working people.

The appeal emphasized: "The slogan of self-criticism without respect for persons and of criticism from the top to the bottom and from the bottom to the top is one of the chief slogans of the day." Ibid., p. 94. The appeal regarded criticism and self-criticism as a method of effectively struggling for sharply improving the activity of the state apparatus, eradicating bureaucracy and as a main method of struggling against all enemies from above and "below" to the "elements of corruption" in its own party ranks.

The following demands were placed on party organizations: to guarantee freedom of criticism within the party and the full electivity of party instances; to punish more severely culpable party members; to intensify and improve the work among the masses; to strive for the exemplary fulfillment by the communists themselves of their production and public assignments.

To revitalize the work of production conferences and make them into organs of mass control and of involving the working masses in active and conscious socialist construction and a powerful instrument of education as well as a lever of effective reconstruction of all public relations of factories and plants, in mines and pits and in railway depots and ships--these were the tasks which the appeal assigned the trade unions.

A decisive role in the cause of perfecting the Soviet state apparatus was assigned to the struggle against bureaucracy, to promoting workers to state and economic jobs, training cadres, improving the structure of the state apparatus and bringing it in accordance with the requirements of socialist economy. Ibid., pp. 96-98.

At the same time the appeal of the VKP(B) Central Committee became a subject of wide discussion in the party organizations and labor collectives of our country. In Iжевский plant in Perm Oblast, for example, it was reprinted in 10,000 copies and one copy was given to every worker. Wherever the appeal was discussed the workers always registered with great satisfaction the great importance of the Central Committee appeal in the struggle against shortcomings. (See "Third Central Control Commission Plenum Convened by the 15th VKP(B) Congress" Moscow, 1978, pp. 15-16, 92; PRAVDA 28 July and 31 July 1978).

As a result of the advanced criticism and self-criticism the working people developed a growing feeling of responsibility not only for their own work but also for socialist construction as a whole and the level of their political culture was raised.

An important role in developing criticism and self-criticism on the basis of the Central Committee appeal was played by the Central Control Commission and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. Before their Third Plenum (August 1978) 22 members of the Central Control Commission and responsible workers of the Central Control Commission and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection were sent to the provinces to check on the implementation of the party directives outlined in the decisions of the Third Plenum of the Central Control Commission. All the local Control Commissions and Workers' and Peasants' Inspections organized systematic control over the implementation of the principles outlined in the Central Committee appeal and brought to light the faults of



successful socialist construction while demonstrating with vivid examples the harm of liquidating work and linking criticism with the propaganda of hostile experiments. (See: V.V. Frunze: "Central Control Commission and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection in the Struggle for Socialism. The Role of the Central Control Commission and Workers' and Peasants' Inspection in Implementing Lenin's Will for Utilizing Socialism in the USSR (1923-1924)" *Izvestia*, 1963, p. 229; "Third Plenum of the Central Control Commission..." pp. 15-16) *Izvestia* VSP(B) 1927-1928 - many articles to remove from their posts those workers who ignored the criticism of workers and peasants, persons who were found guilty of serious shortcomings, abuses and ties with hostile elements were removed from responsible work, many of them were put on trial and members of the party were expelled from its ranks. (See for example, "Notebook of Party Worker," Issue 6, April 4, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, pp. 352-353; "Investiga of the VKP(B) Central Committee," 1928, No. 24, p. 3; "Izvestiya of the VKP(B) Central Committee," 1929, No. 1, p. 18 and others).

The party Central Committee devoted great attention to the activity of local party organs aimed at carrying out the measures envisaged in the appeal. In the period between the 15th and 16th VKP(B) Congresses it investigated the work of 71 party organizations. As many as 64 of these delivered reports to the sessions of the Politburo, the Organizational Bureau and the Secretariat. (See: "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," Vol. 4, book 1, p. 572) Thus, in February 1929 the VKP(B) Central Committee and the Presidium of the Central Control Commission noted a substantial vitalization in the Smolensk party organization as a result of developing criticism; in June the VKP(B) Central Committee approved the activity of the Artemovskaya party organization in liquidating the unhealthy phenomena on the basis of democracy within the party and of developing self-criticism (see: "Party Building," 1930, No. 11-12 pp. 24-25; "Notebook of Party Worker" Issue 7, part 2, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, p. 131); in September the Central Committee declared unsatisfactory the work of the Sratov party organization. (See: PRAVDA 13 Sep. 1929)

The press was of enormous assistance in developing criticism and self-criticism. PRAVDA systematically published materials devoted to this subject. It wrote in connection with the VKP(B) Central Committee appeal: "Party conferences must become a turning point in regard to developing clear bolshevist criticism of the party leadership from below." (PRAVDA, 16 June 1928) The activity connected with developing criticism was described in almost every paper. The press subjected to public judgment concrete manifestations of opportunism, bureaucracy, the alienation of certain party and Soviet workers from the masses and facts of violation of democracy within the party and trade unions as well as of the norms of the Soviet society and of suppression of criticism.

The development of criticism contributed to the further growth of the party's authority, the strengthening of its ties with the masses and it enhanced the activity of communist and nonparty members in socialist construction. At the Third Plenum of the VKP(B) Central Control Commission noted, as a result of developing criticism and self-criticism, the party work was significantly revitalized, particularly in the Moscow and Leningrad party organizations, the ideological level of communists was raised and in the course of resolutions held in the spring and fall of 1928 the membership of party bureaus was

remained in the country as a whole by more than half. (See: "Third Plenum of the Central Control Commission..." p 334; "Investiya of the VKP(B) Central Committee" 1928, No 78, p 3; 1929, No 8-9, p 19; No 10, pp 6-7)

strengthening the party authority and the confidence in the party among the broadest strata of nonparty workers and working peasants had a positive effect on the growth of the party ranks. At the "Profizern" plant of Bryansk Province, after the workers were acquainted with the VKP(B) Central Committee appeal, more than 220 applications to join the party were submitted, at the Elektromashin factory the number of applicants exceeded 70. [AUGUST] There was a significant growth in the communist ranks at the Leningrad "Krasnoye Sushilovo" plant, Moscow "Kautchuk" plant, Smolenskaya town party organizations and others. (See: Izvestiya of VKP(B) Central Committee" 1928, No 38, p 7; 1929, No 5-6, p 16)

In April 1929 the 15th VKP(B) Conference found it necessary to carry out a general purge of the party of bureaucratic, self-seeking and careerist elements. (See: "1929 in Resolutions and Decisions..." Vol 3, pp 240, 244-245) (The first general purge of the party took place in 1921. For details see "1921 in Resolutions and Decisions..." Vol 4, pp 238-239) The developing criticism and the active participation of the masses in the purge guaranteed its success. (See: "Izvestiya VKP(B) Central Committee" 1928, No 78, p 13)

For the effective and systematic development of criticism it was important to take action on the criticisms expressed. With this aim the party organizations checked on the implementation role here.

However, in addition with the existing tasks in the sphere of the struggle against bureaucracy, the party considered the above mentioned achievements "only the first and very insufficient approach/ to the cause of improving the state apparatus...." (Ibid. p 224)

In connection with this the conference considered it necessary to promote the struggle for the execution by the party, economic and Soviet organs of resolutions and directives of the party and the Soviet Government; on improving the personnel of the Soviet apparatus; on bringing the system of management in line with the needs of national economy and the requirements of socialist construction.

This work was based on the following instruction by V.I. Lenin: "We control the people and the actual fulfillment of the task/--in this, once again is this and only in this lies the centerpoint of all the work and all the policy now lie." (V.I. Lenin: Complete Works, Vol 43, p 15)

[AUGUST] The role of Soviets in the struggle against bureaucracy was particularly enhanced under the conditions when the national economy was being constructed. Meanwhile, sometimes the Soviets were actually substituted in their presidiums and in the village--by chairmen and secretaries. It was necessary to revitalize the Soviets by developing criticism and involving the broadest masses of the working people in their activity. (See: "1928 in Resolutions and Decisions..." Vol 3, p 247)



in 1928-1929. The decision of the 16th VKP(b) Conference that the workers' and peasants' inspection was to carry out, with the active participation of the broad masses of the working people, a purge of the Soviet apparatus of corrupt and incompetent elements, bribe-takers and saboteurs and replace them with cadres of factories and plants and of low-level Soviet work. The further development of criticism and self-criticism and the involvement of workers in this work was to be the main method of struggle against bureaucracy. (Ibid., pp. 22-23 and 226-232) V.I. Lenin said: "If we want to fight bureaucracy, we must involve the lower strata." (V.I. Lenin: Complete Works, Vol. 42, p. 371)

The purge of the Soviet apparatus took place at meetings with the participation of workers and working peasants. According to incomplete statistics, about 25,000 workers and 25,000 peasants were members of purge commissions and committees. Altogether about 50,000 employees were "purged." (Ibid.: "The purge of the Soviet apparatus. Supplement to the 16th VKP(b) Congress," Moscow, 1931, pp. 10 and 11) Their place was taken by workers. Between 1928 and 1931 in the country as a whole 100,000 workers from iron plants joined the Soviet apparatus. In accordance with the resolution of the VKP(b) Central Committee and Central Control Commission the plants' patronage of workers was introduced. (See: V.A. Krasnoy, same title, p. 176; PRAVDA, 16 Mar 1930) Thus, the party struggle against bureaucracy and the development of criticism and self-criticism was an important condition of the considerable sanitation of the Soviet apparatus and the broad promotion of workers to leading positions.

Promoting workers to leading positions was a task of paramount importance for the trade unions in their capacity as schools of management of the socialist industry. However, the rightist-opportunistic AUCCTU leadership headed by Tomsky opposed the restructuring of the trade unions and embarked on the path of drifting them against the party. This position was sharply criticized in the VKP(b) Central Committee appeal of 3 June 1928, at the November (1928) and April (1929) VKP(b) Central Committee Plenums, at the 16th party plenum and in the press. The AUCCTU leadership was renewed. The 16th congress approved the purge of the trade union apparatus undertaken by the Central Control Commission and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and the resolute promotion of workers from the plants to leading trade union organs. At the same time the party took measures to train new cadres of workers for promotion. (See: "VPS in Resolutions and Legislation..." Vol. 4, pp. 97, 143-144, 184 and 165)

Development of criticism from below exposed and eliminated unhealthy symptoms in the leading party, Soviet and trade union organs. However, in the first months after the publication of the VKP(b) Central Committee appeal to develop self-criticism it was not yet sufficiently developed everywhere. There was a number of reasons for this. Some party committees and economic and trade union workers regarded the VKP(b) Central Committee appeal as an encouragement to criticism others and did not take measures aimed at eliminating their own shortcomings. (See: "Izvestiya of VKP(b) Central Committee" 1928, No. 38, p. 3; No. 29, p. 8; No. 21, p. 3; 1929, No. 10, pp. 17 and 18) Thus Lenin's important principle of Lenin was ignored, namely that self-criticism is fundamental to the party living and vital party. There is nothing more vulgar than self-criticism up to now." (V.I. Lenin, Complete Works, Vol. 13, p. 134)

The Third Plenum of the Central Control Commission pointed out the lack of activity of criticism as the main shortcoming. Many leaders and officers had not surprised general criticism from below and showed no concern for enhancing its activity. (See: "Third Plenum of the Central Control Commission..." p 37); "Agenda of VVP(B) Central Committee" 1929, No. 1, p. 19; No. 19, p. 17) For example, in a number of Ukrainian enterprises and in a number of other enterprises and in the press were not sufficiently taken into consideration, and the information on their results was poorly organized. (See: "Third Plenum of the Central Control Commission..." p 37)

One of the reasons for the insufficient development of criticism was the attitude to criticism as to yet another campaign. This happened even in some underground party organizations. The Leningrad obkom Plenum admitted in September 1929 that a certain weakening of criticism and self-criticism had made itself felt in the organization. In 1929 the Nizhegorodskiy and Talskiy obkoms also noted the weakening of self-criticism in their organizations. (See: PRAVDA 8 Sept. 1929; 1929) V.M. Kiyov said: "...The slogan of self-criticism is not a campaign slogan...which may be unfolded in all its breadth so that it is possible to draw near this slogan for a certain length of time and then relax. This is wrong, comrades! This is wrong because unfolding the slogan of self-criticism is the basis of all our work." (PRAVDA 14 Sept. 1929)

(AG 2011) A serious obstacle to unfolding criticism was its suppression by way of dissuading and persecuting the critics. The party fought resolutely against such facts. The Third Plenum of the VVP(B) Central Control Commission demanded that the persecution of the critics be punished in the most severe fashion. The party organizations took energetic measures to fulfill the directives of the Plenum of the Central Control Commission. (See: "Third Plenum of the Central Control Commission..." p 336) They were guided by V.I. Lenin's belief that criticism should be principled and well-founded and that the party "must provide an example of idea-minded, staunch and courageous criticism for all the people, particularly for the entire mass of the proletariat." (V.I. Lenin: Complete Works, Vol 43, p 91) And must strive "relentlessly that criticism be to the point without assuming forms capable of assisting the class enemies of the proletariat." (V.I. Lenin: Complete Works, Vol 43, p 91)

Correcting the existing shortcomings in unfolding criticism and self-criticism, the Central Committee Plenum came to the conclusion in 1929 that the "struggle must be intensified both against the bureaucratic attempts of limiting self-criticism and against the unacceptable exaggerations in the sphere of self-criticism which offer the class-enemy elements an opportunity to use self-criticism against the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Works in Revolution and Socialism..." Vol 4, p 242)

The party officers fully utilized the weapon of criticism to defeat rightist opportunities which had then become the main danger for the socialist camp. Criticism and self-criticism also played an important part in liquidating the bureaucracy in housing building. (For further details see: G.M. Gerasimov: "Rightist Deviation and Its Defeat," Moscow, 1953) Before the XV Congress of the CPSU at this method of work in party sections the 1929-1930 Congress of the CPSU

time pointed out the necessity to develop it further with the aim of raising the ideological, local and Bolshevik education of the party cadres, and the masses, and the resolutions of the party 15th and 16th congresses and for solidifying further internal party democracy. (USSR: "USSR in Revolution and Reconstruction," Vol. 4, pp. 415-416)

In the period between the 15th and 16th VSP(9) Congresses the party carried out work on solidifying criticism and self-criticism. The socialist praxis and masses of party life began to be more fully consolidated. The links between the party and the masses grew stronger. The ideological standpoints and spirit of the communist, and the activeness of the broad masses during production and in public life were raised. A reconstruction of the party, trade unions, Soviet and other organizations was carried out and their activities were reformed and improved. Solidifying criticism and self-criticism was also of the great significance in the party's struggle against the "Leftists" and the rightist opportunists. The unity of the party was strengthened. Its authority was enhanced and its social composition improved. All this contributed to accelerating the rate of socialist building, to successfully fulfilling the seven-year plan for the development of the national economy and to further solidifying the Soviet system. With its entire activity the party once again demonstrated its role as the leading force of Soviet society.

The experience of the VSP(9) struggle for solidifying criticism and self-criticism demonstrated and the practice of socialist and communist building confirmed that there is nothing more harmful for the interests of the party and the people than the attempt to slur the shortcomings, let alone persecute through criticism them.

Nowadays when a developed socialist society has been built in the USSR, a society whose political system guarantees the increasingly active participation of the working people in discussing and solving state and public affairs, the role of criticism and self-criticism is continuously enhanced. In this sense the labor collectives unfold their socialist competition, they contribute to disseminating the advanced work methods, strengthening labor discipline, educating the Soviet people in a spirit of communist morality and raising their political awareness and culture. Article 49 of the Soviet constitution states: "Every citizen of the USSR has the right to submit to the state organs and public organizations proposals on improving their activity and to criticize the shortcomings in their work.

The organs are obliged to consider the proposals of applications of the citizens within the established period, reply to them and face the necessary measures.

"Persecution for criticism is forbidden. Persons who persecute others for criticism will be held responsible." Acting within the framework of the Soviet constitution all the party organizations widely use the historical experience of the CPSU in solidifying criticism and self-criticism.

The direct critical statements of Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other figures of the party and Soviet Government

provide vivid examples of loyalty to the Leninist principles of party leadership which mobilize the Soviet people for carrying out the decisions of the 19th CPSU Congress and the USSR Food Program. Acting in the spirit of realism and critical attitude to that which has been achieved, the CPSU Central Committee is rallying the Soviet people in their struggle to perfect developed socialism in the USSR.

ORIGINATOR: Izdatel'stvo "Pravda", "Voprosy istorii KPS", 1967

COPIES: 1000/1201

NATIONAL.

'PRAVDA' REVIEWS ON LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF STATE BUILDING

PMG11452 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 83 Second Edition p 2

[Article by S. Zhirnov under the rubric "Among Books": "On Leninist Principles"]

[Text] The very rich experience of the creation and development of the first multinational socialist state is of lasting historic significance. The investigation of this experience and of the USSR's increasing role in realizing the party's program aims and communist ideals acquires important theoretical and practical meaning today. This accounts for the topicality of a book by a group of Soviet scientists which comprehensively characterizes the problems of managing the building of a unified federal state. (K.R. Karakeyev, I. Ya. Kopylov and E.A. Salikov: "Problems of Managing the Building of the Soviet Multinational State"--"Problemy upravleniya stroitel'stven soyetskogo mnogonatsionalnogo gosudarstva"--Nauka Publishing House, Moscow, 1982, 366 pages)

The work reveals, above all, the theoretical foundations of the USSR's direction. The consistent realization of the principle of the nation's free self-determination in relations among our country's peoples, as V.I. Lenin foresaw, objectively led them toward rapprochement and lasting union.

The truly democratic and internationalist nature of Soviet statehood has been graphically expressed in its development on the basis of socialist federation. The book uses numerous facts to show that the assertion of relations of friendship and fraternity among the peoples is of paramount significance for our motherland's destiny, the building of a new society and its movement toward communism.

By realizing the Leninist principles of the nationalities policy and the ideals of the working class the party has ensured the strengthening of the federal state and created favorable conditions for the continuation and improvement of national state building in the USSR. Whereas in 1923 there were 33 national states and national state formations in the country, including 4 union republics, 13 autonomous republics and 16 autonomous oblasts, there are now 13 national states and national state formations, including 11 union and 20 autonomous republics, 9 autonomous oblasts and 10 autonomous okrugs.

The leading principle of democratic centralism plays a very important role in developing our multinational state. Its consistent implementation has helped to liquidate actual inequality among nations and, on the whole, to equalize the level of economic and cultural development in the union republics. The time has come when under conditions of mature socialism democratic centralism leads to the strengthening of the unity of federal and national socialist economic formations and ensures the harmonious combination of the interests of the entire USSR and of the specific interests of each republic and the consistent building of the country's material and spiritual potential.

The people have been convinced from their own experience that creation within a unified union augments their creative strength and accelerates socio-economic growth. The book points out that our motherland's scaling of new heights of progress enables the party to improve the management of the multinational state, strengthen the unified national economic complex and resolve the increasingly great and complex tasks of creating the material and technical base of communism, improving the working people's well-being and culture, developing socialist and national relations, deepening democracy and educating convinced internationalist patriots.

The authors do not bypass acute, complex problems, nor questions being debated in our scientific literature. At the same time they expose in a well-reasoned manner the bourgeois and revisionist falsifications of national relations in the USSR. In particular the myth that people's national feelings are ignored in the Soviet state. It is convincingly shown that socialism not only does not lead to nations losing their character, cultural features or traditions but, on the contrary, raises them to new heights and makes everything progressive the property of the unified Soviet people--a new social and international community of people.

The book clearly witnesses with its entire contents that the USSR is a dynamic and effective form of uniting nations and ethnic groups, designed for the entire historical period of the gradual evolution of socialist statehood into communist social self-government.

END: (AMT) MK



RAYMOND

## LENIN'S OPPOSITION TO DECRETISM RECALLED

NEW YORK REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA 15 Mar 83 Morning Edition p J

Article by Yegor Yakovlev: "Meeting To Last A Lifetime"

[Excerpt] One of Lenin's political opponents who has known him well for his young years wrote: "He would declare himself a convinced Marxist, but it seems to be more correct to say that Marxism was not a conviction but a religion for him." And this was said of Lenin, a revolutionary who developed Marxism under new historical conditions. So, for him Marxism was not a religion but a combat banner. Vladimir Ilich consistently protested its revolutionary essence, struggled passionately against any attempts to revise Marxism from both the right and the left and wrote that after the death of Marx and Engels "attempts are being made to turn them into harmless items, so to speak, to cynicize them...by emasculating the substance of the revolutionary teaching, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it." Himself the greatest theoretician of creative Marxism, Lenin said: "For us theory and hypothesis is not something 'sacred.' For us it is a working instrument." He recalled: "Our teaching is not dogma but a guide for action"--that is what Marx and Engels were always saying, who rightly scoffed at learning by rote and simple repetition of "formulas...." He spoke sarcastically of those who would like to have Marx' instruction on any practical question of socialist building: "Even Marx did not see the need to write a single word about this and died without leaving a single precise quotation or irrefutable instructions. Therefore we must now use our own devices to find the way out."

On looking back over Lenin's path you realize that he waged the fiercest ideological battles and most exhausting political battles precisely with those who wanted to turn theory from a "working instrument" into an end in itself--and for whom the impossible embodiment of an idea was becoming more important than the idea itself. Recall the arguments with the "left communists" in the spring of 1918 and the trade union debate or how much effort it cost Vladimir Ilich to assert the new economic policy. Lenin opposed those who would have liked to reign over a sinful earth without reckoning with the realities of life. He asked bitterly: "...What has happened to these people? How can they forget reality because of scraps of a booklet?"

After Vladimir Ilich died, Krupskaya said at the funeral meeting: "He did not approach Marx as a bibliophile. He approached Marx as someone seeking an answer to mankind's pressing questions. And he found these answers there."

## NATIONAL

### LIVING LIVING MEN HAVE BROKEN WITH RELIGION SUBJECT OF THE BOOK

More on Domestic Affairs in Russia 1905 (M) 27 Mar 81

[Text] The publishing house Politizheskaya Literatura has published a book called Renunciation. In it is a collection of accounts by people who have, for various reasons, broken with religion--professor of the spiritual academy (Osipov), Roman Catholic priest (Bagauskas), the Muslim priest (Amalimov), the Baptist (Chernykh), and Jehovah's Witness (Cilichuk). They all relate openly and with deep feeling their reminiscences, the difficult search for answers to the extremely important questions of existence, how life itself brought them to the path of atheism. Karl Marx called religion the opium of the people, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin called it a type of spiritual brandy, both of which replace genuine spiritual values with imaginary ones, real truths with illusory truths.

When Aleksandr Aleksandrovich (Osipov) announced his break with religion and the church he was just under 50. This was like a bomb explosion in church circles--the master of theology, professor of the spiritual academy and academy, surprised; and then suddenly such a step. In the name of what? In the name of truth, in defense of which (Osipov) then devoted the rest of his life. Breaking with religion and the church, he understood that life from then on would not be simple or easy. It would have been simpler and easier to continue his church career. But Plato is a friend of mine, but truth is dearer, said the ancient philosopher; and the phrase caught people's imagination.

From the most ancient times religion either tried to force science to serve it or, if the scientific truth contradicted that of the church, tried to destroy it. But the most not destroy truth--truth is dearer. Glennan Bruce Barred But for our repellence the truth is the flaming fire kindled by the Catholic inquisition. Truth is dearer. In the name of truth the first woman scientist, Evgenia, beheaded, torn apart by the crowd. Truth is dearer.

The Muslim spiritual leaders, with raging hatred, made stern work of Vlaches. Still today the most fanatical representatives of the priesthood are ready to slander people who leave their camp. (Osipov) did not escape this fate either. But to the end of his days he remained true to the new path of spiritual freedom he had chosen. He wrote: My atheism is the light of my life. To know the truth is such a joy, that I can only wish it for every person, if he wishes to be worthy of this highest title on earth.



The 1880-1890 generation, which we are discussing, seems to give us no more of the happy, carefree, happy, (Chernykh). He was like the Russian, or French, and was... The life, of his spiritual awakening, the subject of his... with the wonderful, incredible, and almost painful, lived... and became a turning point in his life. Before of the... of the... former sailor, retired school, (and helped... from 1880-1881). He lived a quarter of a century in the... of... The best years of my life, 1880-1885, were... from 1880-1885. How much that would have been useful... but they have gone and we cannot bring them back. The... of the... Several years have passed since my... of my... life has been filled by my family, wife, mother, and... the unsatisfied passion for study. The... has me down. This is the present of the... of the...

The 1880-1890 generation, which we have briefly talked about, is trying to... under the influence of religion to find the path to... of the...

(1880-1890)

ACADEMICIAN KIMURU SAITO THE COOPERATION AMONG DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF SCIENCE

1911/1912 Moscow, written in Russian 7 Apr 51 First Edition pp 2-1

1.04.1912 by Academician G. G. Gerasimov: "Marx and Science"--words between scientists (published in bookface)

[Text] In his obituary of his dead friend, Engels called Marx a man of science. Indeed, Marx was not only a great revolutionary, the leader of the international proletariat, but also a great scientist. He approached science itself as a man of science, defining its subject and method, its social significance, the prospects of scientific cognition and science's future. These ideas and thoughts of Marx are of the most typical significance.

1.

Marx had a clear understanding of the path along which scientific cognition was proceeding and of the most important natural law of its development--from the external aspect of the phenomena studied to the revelation of their internal essence and the laws concealed behind these phenomena. That is why "Marx's task consists in reducing a seeming movement which only appears to be a phenomenon to a real internal movement." And further: "If the form of the manifestation and the essence of things directly coincided, then any science would be redundant."

Marx' theory of the movement of cognition aw. from phenomena and toward essence is confirmed at every step. For instance, that is how the essence and laws of society's movement under the conditions of developed capitalism are revealed and the paths of its movement toward communism are determined; that is how the true essence of the militarist, violent policy of present-day imperialism is revealed. In the natural sciences there is the same movement away from phenomena and toward essence: biology has achieved great successes by penetrating the essence of the processes and the revelation of their essence and laws makes it possible to master these processes increasingly fully for purposes of practical utilization.

It is very important that, in speaking of the naturalness of the movement of scientific cognition, Marx reveals its three-stage rhythm: from the study of the initial object that is the developed object in all its complexity as a direct nature, via an examination of various sides and aspects of the object and object, through the formation of the corresponding abstractions to their

interlinking, with a view to mentally representing the initial object in its entirety and in its reality.

The profound dialectical contradictoriness of this movement consists in the fact that a whole can only be known by first approaching it not as a whole but by dividing it into parts. V.I. Lenin wrote: "We cannot imagine, calculate, measure or depict movement without interrupting what is continuous, without oversimplifying, surgically, dividing and deadening what is living. The depiction of movement through thought is always a measuring, a deadening, and not only through thought but also through sensation, and not only of movement but also of (any) object."

"And that is the *essence* of dialectics. (It is this essence) which is expressed by the formula: the unity and identity of opposites."

The entire history of natural science from remote antiquity to our day serves as remarkable confirmation of the above-mentioned promises of Marx, later developed by Lenin. Thus the history of physics and in particular of optics attests that light was initially understood through its initial division into two directly opposite aspects, one of which presented it as a continuous, undulating process and the other as an intermittent, corpuscular formation. In our century quantum mechanics has revealed the indivisibility of the two aspects, as a result of which light has revealed itself to be a union of opposites.

Marx founded the scientific method which considered the dialectical contradictoriness of cognition and relied on the principle of development--the method of ascending from the abstract, that is the undeveloped, embryonic, poorly defined, to the specific, that is to the developed, the richly defined. Here "the course of abstract thought ascending from the simplest to the complex accords with the real historical process."

This method of cognition requires that we proceed from the first and simplest relation, which Marx called the "cell," borrowing the concept from biology. Despite its extreme simplicity and abstraction, the "cell" of political economy failed to yield to comprehension for over 2,000 years. "Why so?" Marx asks, and replies: "Because it is easier to study a developed body than a cell of a body." Marx himself sought it for a long time before discovering that the commodity is the "cell" of the economy of bourgeois society.

"In *Das Kapital*," V.I. Lenin wrote, "Marx initially analyzed the simplest, most ordinary, basic, mass-based, most commonplace relation, encountered billions of times, of bourgeois (commodity) society: the exchange of commodities. Analysis reveals in this very simple phenomenon (in this "cell" of bourgeois society) (all) the contradictions (respectively [in Latin characters as published--meaning unknown] the embryos of all contradictions) of present-day society."

[PM141510] In fact many modern sciences which have achieved a high degree of development and methodical completeness are expounded in accordance with the method of proceeding from the abstract to the specific. For instance, bacteriology

science a science only when its "cell" had been discovered in the turn of the chemical elements. Organic chemistry acquired its own "cell" in the 1860s in the turn of the hydrocarbons whose study was developed by Marx' friend Liebig. Chemical compounds forming multicomponent systems were the "cell" of physiological analysis in the teaching of N.S. Kurnakov.

The scientific method elaborated by Marx with application to political economy has entered the golden treasury of modern science. It is used in practice by scientists of the most diverse specialties, frequently without their being aware of the fact. Materialist dialectic comprises the methodological basis of fruitful scientific cognition and at the same time of scientifically substantiated social transformations.

/1.

"Science," Engels wrote, "was for Marx a moving, revolutionary force. Whatever living joy was occasioned in him by every new discovery whose practical application would not even be predicted, his joy was always completely different when it was a case of a discovery which immediately exerted revolutionary influence on industry and historical development in general."

In his preparatory manuscripts for *Das Kapital* Marx wrote: "... the development of man's production forces/, that is the development of wealth, acts." Here we can see, first, how closely Marx links science, primarily natural science, with society's production forces and, second, how he considers both aspects of science--the ideal and the practical, to be real.

Continuing to develop these ideas further, Marx comes to the conclusion that science becomes a direct production force of society. After all, its nature outside of technical devices or structures. "These are all /organs of the human brain created by the human hand/, the subordinated force of knowledge. The development of fixed capital is an indicator of the degree to which public knowledge (Das Wissen, knowledge) has become /a direct production force/ and hence an indicator of the degree to which... social production forces have been created not only in the form of knowledge but also as direct organs of social practice and the real life process."

hence the consequence: "The productive development of society is not only the growing extent of science but also the scale on which it has already been established as fixed capital, the magnitude and breadth of its implementation and the extent to which it encompasses the sum total of production."

That is the beginning of interaction between science and production, between the ideal and material aspects of science in the process of its transformation into a direct production force of society. Transformed into something ideal--scientific concepts, theories and so forth--scientific knowledge then as science must be embodied, incorporated in the material and technical devices and structures and manufacturing processes essential for production. As a result a relatively closed circle is formed which is again reentered at a higher level: renewed production, as a material factor, stimulates again and again the transformation of the material into the ideal, which then as ideal is again and again embodied in the production process.

There laid a feature of human labor in the fact that it is expedient activity. A man does implement the labor process at the very beginning, nature presenting the object he wants from physical material, implements (plans) if he has them. The outcome of the labor process the result is obvious which at the very start of this process existed in man's imagination, that is, ideally."

The article aimed the way to an understanding of the essence of the scientific and technical revolution. Its gist consists not only in the fact that the two revolutions--in science and in technology--have now merged into a single historical process, and not only in the fact that the development of science now outstrips the development of technology and paves the way for it and, also, mainly, in the fact that two processes which had so far run independently--the first the transformation of the material (the laws of nature) into the ideal (in man's mind) (into natural science), and the second the reverse--the ideal into the production process--have merged into a single, continuous whole. The continuity and uninterruptedness of its functioning are a confirmation and at the same time an indicator of how successfully and fully the second course of the scientific and technical revolution is mastered and controlled, its development controlled. The concluding link in this chain--the prompt and full introduction of the achievements of science and technology into mass production--is the decisive one.

[PM14151] The CPSU Central Committee November (1982) *Program* speaks of the great reserves in our national economy which must be brought in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the broad and rapid introduction into production of the achievements of science, technology and leading experience. To advance the business of introducing new technology and new work methods, com. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has said, it is necessary not simply to propagandize them but also to reveal and eliminate the specific reasons preventing scientific and technical progress. "The union of science and production must be promoted by the methods of planning and the material incentives system. Those who boldly embark on the introduction of new technology must not be put at a disadvantage."

That is how our party and its Central Committee are implementing under present conditions Marx' prediction on science's link with production and the link between theory, scientific knowledge and the material and practical activity of society (work).

Marx' ideas today are as alive and topical as they were 100 years ago.

III.

The question arises: what were the longer-term prospects of scientific development as outlined by Marx, and how are his forecasts being fulfilled in our times?

In the mid-19th century, when Marx wrote his "Basic Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," scientific knowledge had not yet emerged from its outmodedly associated state: the sciences still stood distinctly apart from

...one another and were comparable to one another only externally. Despite this, however, Marx with his genius insight managed to discern the path of scientific development for many decades ahead. Marx emphasized that in practice nature, the natural sciences, through industry, had become transformed in form and transformed it, insofar as industry was in active relationship to nature, and consequently, of natural sciences, to man.

In this hypothesis Marx examined the human essence of nature as the natural essence of man and proved that, in this aspect, natural science must abandon its unilateral and abstract direction and become the basis of human activity, just as it has already become the basis of human life.

Thus Marx mapped out the road toward the unification of nature and man and, on this basis, of the science of nature (natural sciences) and the science of man and society. Industry, and consequently the technology which is inseparably from it, today emerges as the connecting link between nature and man (and the technical sciences, correspondingly, as the connecting link between natural and social sciences). Hence Marx' remarkable forecast, which is materializing in full in our days. "History itself," Marx went on, "is an /active/ part of /natural history/ and of the formation of man's nature. Consequently the natural sciences include the science of man to the same extent that the science of man includes the natural sciences: they will be /one/ science."

The unification of natural and social sciences, with the active contribution of science to industry and technology, by no means presupposes the loss of the loss of identity of the various existing branches of scientific knowledge. It only presupposes, first, the loss of their former unilateral character and of the isolation between them and, second, their acquisition of a common scientific method which makes it possible to examine the problems and methods of different sciences from unified principled and methodological positions.

The following stipulations from "The German Ideology," written by Marx jointly with Engels, could not sound much more contemporary: "We know of only one side of nature, the science of history. History may be examined from two sides; it can be divided into the history of nature and the history of man. Nevertheless, these two sides are inseparably linked: for as long as people exist, the history of nature and the history of man will be mutually conditioned by one another."

Marx' ideas on the linking of natural and social sciences in line with the historic connection of nature and society through industry and technology were further developed in A. G. Gerasimov's works.

"Mechanical and chemical technology/ serves the goals of mankind," Engels wrote, "because its character (essence) consists in its determination by external conditions (the laws of nature)."

Having the recognition of technology's relations with other sciences: "Technology and the objective world. /Technology and details/."



Natural sciences give man knowledge of the laws of nature. Man's practical (productive, industrial and technological) activity is purposefully aimed at placing the knowledge of the laws of nature at the service of satisfying the demand of human society. This is the basis of the project, proposed by Marx, of joining natural and natural sciences into a single science of the future.

All subsequent historical development of knowledge and practice has followed the path prescribed by Marx, the path of the further drawing together between the sciences of nature and the sciences of society through their common dogma, the sciences of industry and technology. This organic alignment allows the scientific community to provide an all-round Marxist analysis of the scientific and technological revolution and its essence.

Only in the present, when launched at full speed in the whole of the Third Century, is progressing the organic fusion of two revolutions which occurred earlier and separately in two spheres of human endeavour in natural sciences and in technology. Furthermore, their fusion into a single process is pre-conditioned by the action of socioeconomic factors and, in turn, arises from it far-reaching social consequences which are substantially different in the countries of capitalism, the countries of socialism and the developing countries. The analysis of such a profoundly contradictory process as the scientific and technical revolution leads to the conclusion that comprehensive and interdependent development of social, natural and technical sciences is needed. It is this development that will make it possible to find a comprehensive and balanced solution to the complicated problems of scientific, technical, social, economic and cultural progress.

The close interdependence of the three basic groups of sciences is necessary for the comprehensive research into such global phenomena of our times as those related to ecology, space research, research into science itself (the science of science), scientific, technical, artistic and social creativity (the psychology of creativity) and so on. The elaboration of all these branches of knowledge is possible only under conditions of unity and most profound interpenetration between the sciences of nature, society and technology.

What has been said discloses the principled, program significance of the 20th and 21st century research decisions, which stress the need to intensify the interrelations and interactions between social, natural and technological sciences.

Resolution 6 briefly informed of the progress of science, based on the strategic ideas of Marx.

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TALLINN IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS PUBLISHED

1962/0839 MOSCOW INVESTIYA in Russian 28 Apr 63 Morning Edition p 2

[WAP report: "Experience of Ideological Work"]

[Note:] A collection entitled "The Exacerbation of the Ideological Struggle in the World Arena and the Political Education of Working People" [obostreniye ideologicheskoy borby na mirovoy arene i politicheskoye vospitaniye trudyashchikhsya] has been published. It was compiled from the materials of the plenary sessions of the 12-14 October all-union scientific and practical conference in Tallinn.

The report by CPSU Central Committee Secretary F.V. Susakov and the other reports examined topical questions of CPSU ideological work and outlined ways of further improving its forms and methods and increasing the assertiveness and effectiveness of propaganda and counterpropaganda.

The book is published by the Political Literature Publishing House.

CRM: 1800/1204



NATIONAL

ANTONOV-OVSEYENKO ANNIVERSARY MARKED

'Fearless knight' hailed

[Obyedial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 March 1981 (first edition, carries on page 1 under the rubric "Fighters for the Great Cause" 4-1, 200-word article by P. Solitsyn titled "Pages from the People's Commissar's life," linked to the centenary of the birth of V.A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, described by the author as a "fearless knight of October, ardent proletarian revolutionaries and talented Soviet political and military figure, diplomat and journalist."

Solitsyn briefly traces Ovseyenko's early life, noting that he was among the "especially trusted persons" who worked under Lenin to prepare the October Revolution, and describes the storming of the Winter Palace and the arrest of the provisional government. The author says that Ovseyenko "directly headed the detachments" involved and quotes a veteran revolutionary on the role he played.

Solitsyn proceeds to describe Ovseyenko's career as people's commissar, his involvement "at V.I. Lenin's instructions and under his direct leadership" in the formation of Red Army units and in the civil war in general. Praising Ovseyenko's qualities, the author quotes another veteran revolutionary to the effect that Ovseyenko "always enjoyed Lenin's full trust." He then goes on: "At one time Antonov-Ovseyenko sided with the Trotskyite opposition, but this episode was atypical of his life's path. He sincerely admitted his mistake and proved his devotion to the party with deeds."

Solitsyn then speaks of Ovseyenko's career as a diplomat, quoting Belorussian Haruri's praise for him, as RSFSR people's commissar of justice and as a writer.

Armed Forces Museum Celebrates

Moscow IZVESTIYA PYOMU in Russian 23 Mar 81 (first edition p. 1)

[Report by Val. V. Gerasimovich: "In Memory of Revolutionary"]

[Text] A meeting was held on the evening of 21 March at the 558 Armed Forces Central Museum to mark the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Aleksandrovich Antonov-Ovseyenko, Soviet party and state figure and an active participant in

in the Great October Socialist Revolution. Taking part were old Bolsheviks, employees of the USSR Defense Ministry's Military History Institute and members of the Moscow garrison.

During the historical lectures Maj Gen A. Babin delivered a report on V.I. Antonov-Ovseenko's life and revolutionary activity. The name of Antonov-Ovseenko, the speaker noted, is deservedly included in the annals of Great October.

M. Maslov, a member of the CPSU since 1915, imparted his memories of V.I. Antonov-Ovseenko.

Doc: 1500/1215

INTERNAL

#### WHY TO LIVE WITH POOR LEADERSHIP?

[Editorial Report for Television] DW290545 Moscow Domestic Television Service to Moscow at 0743 JMW on 27 March carries the 10-minute fourth installment of the "Let Citizens Are Made on the Spot" program devoted to the work of party and government organizations and citizen's letters, proposals and complaints. This installment entitled "Unity of Word and Deed," begins with video of Podolsk in Moscow suburb, cutting to the Podolsk Gorkom building for an interview with L.N. Archiyevyev, chief of the general department of the Podolsk Gorkom, who says that as a result of constant letters with complaints from workers at the Podolsk Urdemontkizhe Machine building plant it was decided to conduct individual meetings between N.Z. Chizh, first secretary of the Podolsk Gorkom, and workers at the plant.

Video shows Chizh interviewing workers, whose complaints include poor availability of fish and bread which forces citizens to travel to Moscow to shop, visiting many times a hour due to the poor standard of the public transportation system.

Video then shows the plant's settlement of Yuzhny and highlights some examples of poor living conditions there, including lack of children's play facilities and the dilapidated state of certain houses. Referring to the plant, Chizh is harshly admonishing A.A. Savelyev, the plant's deputy director for everyday services, for neglecting his duties and for his lack of attention to people's needs.

A portrait then depicts the continual delay in repairing Yuzhny's public garden and football field, accusing the communal housing department chief and Savelyev of "perfunctorily and bureaucratically treating the requests and complaints of the working people." Video cuts to Chizh addressing a Gorkom meeting and denouncing Savelyev's inactivity, followed by an interview with Chizh who says that Savelyev has been relieved from his duties.

Video 6 months later shows an interview with the area's food trade director who says bread supplies are now on time and quantities are adequate. Vladimir Ivanovich Kozlov, first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, is shown making the value of children's suggestions in "struggling with the still various shortcomings and elements of mismanagement, or putting it more harshly, cynicism in certain areas, in certain collectives." He goes on to say that the Gorkom's party and government organizations are now striving to struggle collectively against this evil.

The latter part of the program shows video reports on the Agricultural Machine-Plant at the Dard Krasnodarskaya Soykhos in Yuzhnyy Ussuriysk in Maritime Territory, on-site treatment of other conditions and the reconstruction of the settlement with wide and comfortable, new three-bedroom cottages. Other reports show a machine repair vehicle service center, whose work has no proposals and complaints, and the Selsk'ya Nov Dvory, which provides excellent conditions for its workers.

The program ends with Composer Levishov dedicating a song to agricultural workers.

1990/1/10

SATIP/MI

#### RECENT MENTION OF STALIN IN SOVIET MEDIA

##### 'KRASNAYA ZVEZDA'

[Editorial comment] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian on 20 March 1961, First Edition, published on page 4 a 1,400-word E. VIKHAYEV review of a new play entitled "The Chief Knight." The play was written by Yu. Vinogradov and is being staged at Volodarskiy's M. Gorkiy Drama Theater. It deals with events surrounding the battle of Stalingrad in World War II and incorporates portrayals of several historical figures. The reviewer points out: "I believe that the scenes portraying Blazhkov's meeting with the Volga Red Army soldier Kovrila and the conversation between [obskom secretary] Chupakov and I.V. Stalin about the fate of the tractor plant are among the most interesting in the play."

##### 'MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA'

[Editorial comment] Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 March 1961 published on page 3 under the headline "Routine Assignment" a 2,000-word article by N. Medvedev continuing the story started in MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA on 18 March of a certain Medvedev, a Muscovite hero of the last war, whose life is described along with many others in a new book in the series "Heroes of the Patriotic War." In the course of his secret reconnaissance and intelligence work, we are told, Medvedev discovered evidence of an "attempt being prepared on the lives of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill at the Tehran conference."

GAO: 70061014

NATIONAL

KEMEROVO OBLAST SECRETARY ON SIBERIAN CULTURE

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 20 May 1983 page 2 carries a 900-word article titled "It is for the Young to Build the Future" by P. Dorofayev, Secretary of the Communist Party Committee of the Kemerovo Oblast. The article describes efforts underway to raise the cultural level of Siberia.

KYRBYSHEV OBLAST SECRETARY ON CULTURE, IDEOLOGICAL WORK

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 19 March 1983 page 2 carries a 1,150-word article titled "There are no Trivialities in the Life of the Artist" by N. Pannov, Secretary of the Communist Party Committee of the Kyrbyshay Oblast. The article stresses the important role of the party in guiding artistic inspiration and cultural affairs.

GLAZUNOV DOCUMENTARY FAVORABLY REVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 April 1983 carries on page 4 a 400-word review titled "Creation in Harmony with the Time" by M. Andreeva. The article favorably reviews a recent television documentary on the life and works of the painter, Il'ya Glazunov.

HISTORICAL WRITING UNDER TSARS, SOVIETS CONTRASTED

[Editorial Report] Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR. SERIYA V. ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 22 Feb 83) pp 62-63 carries a 300-word review of "The Historiography of the USSR" (in Russian; Moscow: Prosveshcheniye, 1982) by B. A. Lapshov. According to the reviewer, the book reviews Russian and Soviet historiography of the last two centuries, contrasting the pre-revolutionary period to the Soviet.

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RAYDIPAL

#### ATHEISM CHALLENGE: INEFFECTIVE, REPORTER FINDS

[Editorial Report] Moscow SSSR KAYA ZHEN in Russian 16 February 1983 carries on page 4 a 7,200-word report by SSSR KAYA ZHEN special correspondent O. Tonkikh from the Russian Chikhor in Radomyshl'skiy Rayon, Zhitomir Oblast titled "...Is the Heretic the Devil?" The report talks about a young couple, Kuznetsov's mother, not regular churchgoers, who had their daughter christened in church. There were no objections from the family, the report says. They no longer believed, but they still displayed icons. Tonkikh goes on to say that there are seven churches in the rayon, "six of them active," and the churchmen exercise "such a subtle influence on people's feelings." Having warned that people may be "setting a trend" and inducing "tolerance of religious ritual" by having babies christened in church, the report goes on to discuss countermeasures. Tonkikh says that the activity of the rayon "Atheists' Club" is not effective enough. He complains that the young communist leaders in the rayon are "too busy" to help "mold young people in the spirit of atheism." Tonkikh concludes by urging youngsters not to have their babies christened, to be more principled in ideological matters. He cites the example of old communists and Komsomol members of the twenties and thirties who fought vigorously against religion and, while sometimes "too categorical," displayed "personal conviction."

(30) 10011291

NATIONAL

#### OFFICIAL RESPONSE TO CRITICAL LETTERS STILL INADEQUATE, PAPER FEELS

[Editorial Report] Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian on 4 April 1981 publishes on page 1 under the heading "Official's Responsibility" a 2,000-word review of readers' letters by A. Yurkov, the newspaper's executive secretary. While noting the "marked improvement in the reaction to critical comments, complaints and suggestions from readers," Yurkov points out that "there are still cases where individual officials resolve the questions put before them due responsibility." Yurkov goes on to describe the unsatisfactory replies received from officials in response to readers' letters complaining about the Moscow freezer plant and faults in an apartment block in Kaliningrad, noting that the culprits have not been punished and steps have not been taken to protect rights. The review then discusses a letter from the chief engineer at the Asipovsk cement slabs plant who refuses to accept responsibility for damage caused to the plant which resulted in a fine being deducted from his salary.

While the editorial office is told that steps have been taken in response to all official letters "in the replies some officials and signatories do not summarize what has been done or the rectifications made in the prevailing situation. To what is now planned. And it is extremely rarely that they discuss in detail the irresponsibility of those officials through whose fault a critical situation has been created."

OO: 1800/1018



## NATIONAL

### IVAN IV'S CENTRALIZATION OF RUSSIAN EMPIRE DEFENDED

[Editorial Report] Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR. SERIYA V. ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 22 Feb 83) pp 81-83 carries a 500-word review of A. A. Zimin's and A. L. Khoroshkevich's "Russia in the Time of Ivan the Terrible" (in Russian; Moscow: Nauka, 1982) by M. I. Chemerisskaya. According to the reviewer, the book surveys Ivan IV's accomplishments, noting that the centralization of the empire "cost Russia no more than the sacrifices of other nations." Ivan's use of the Oprichnina "was directed against survivals of the old system" and therefore can be seen as "a struggle for new forms."

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### DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF 'SECOND FRONT' REVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI V SSSR. SERIYA V. ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 83 (signed to press 22 Feb 83) pp 90-93 carries a 650-word review of I. N. Zemskov's "A Diplomatic History of the Second Front in Europe" (in Russian; Moscow: Politizdat, 1982) by N. N. Mesyatsev. According to the reviewer, the book uses new documentary materials to present a diplomatic history of the opening of a second front in Europe during World War II.

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CSO: 1800/1186

TAT (DWA)

#### BRIEFS

KAMCHATKA WORK WITH LETTERS--Today a CPSU Obkom Plenum held in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy discussed measures to further improve work with letters in light of the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the November 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum. Reports made by Comrade Kachin, first secretary of the CPSU Obkom, and the other speeches noted that unified political days were effective forms of communicating with the masses: they are held regularly in the peninsula's labor collectives. The 1,360 proposals that urban and rural workers have made during these days have been used in the work of party, administrative and economic organs. At the same time the participants in the plenum noted that many facts of a formalistic and at times irresponsible approach to reviewing letters and statements have been revealed. For example, every year there are letters about the poor way that fish deliveries are received and the interruptions this causes in the work of fish processing and transport fleet. Complaints about the style of work of leading cadres are not always reviewed in a principled manner. The participants in the plenum gave a principled party assessment of these facts. Ways of further improving forms and methods of work with letters, statements and proposals from the working people were outlined. [Text] [00261806 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Mar 83]

REF: 1800/1208

SECRET

THE CONSEQUENCE CAUSE PARTY

CONFIDENTIAL - Official in Ukrainian 5 Apr 53 p 2

[Scribble] L. Iurlovsky, first secretary, Ukrainian Communist Party: "Factors limiting Party of Organizational Work"

[Scribble] Whenever the oblast party committee discusses ways of providing unity in organizational and ideological work it inevitably touches upon the issue of cadre politics. This is the way it should be. A decisive condition for securing such unity is the correct selection, placement and career location, their political maturity, high professional and moral qualities. But does our work with cadres always bring about the desired results? How can we improve it? What is the secret of successful activity by these leaders? Is failure on the part of others?

It should be noted that after the 26th CPSU Congress began, all oblast party committees increased their attention to the improvement of the style and methods of party leadership, generally improving work with cadres. These issues were discussed more frequently at meetings and sessions of party committees. That, first and foremost, party committee cadres were reviewed. To increase party influence in the sphere of economic and cultural building and increased cadre responsibility for assigned matters, a number of positions from mid-level enterprise management, agricultural and administrative work, in the servicing sphere were added to the nomenklatura.

Of course, cadre work cannot be successful if it is transformed into an office matter, if people's professional and moral-political qualities are studied only from forms. The contact is essential, work on the human style and work solid analysis and, finally, the work of collectives where they work. Along with leading cadres the district supported the above views.

Further, all members and bureau candidates, district heads and other responsible party oblast committee workers and contact such as:





EDDOVA

LATVIAN THEM DISCUSS TALSKINSEOT RARO

Moscow ZHIBNANIST in Russian No 2, Feb 51 (signed to press 10 Jan 51) pp 8-9

[Viktorin Sergeyev interviews Vitaliy Chems, Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee]

[Text] and [Text].

In our rayon, as in other of the country's rural rayons, work is underway on the reorganization of the management of agricultural production. The creation of rayon agricultural-industrial associations (RAPO) is a new and complex business. For now all leaders of farms and enterprises whose activity is connected with agriculture, agricultural services and the processing of agricultural products have a proper understanding of the benefits of the association. Our agrarian specialist, kolhoz member and Sovkhoz worker and employee readers also have some questions. Nor is everything clear to us journalists of the rayon newspaper. I would like a clearer idea of the practical questions of the reorganization of management and to know more of time of the difficulties which may arise and the ways to overcome them. There are rayons in the country where RAPO have been in existence for more than a year now - in Lithuania, for example, and Latvia, Estonia and Moldavia. Please describe the questions of the creation and development of RAPO.

I am sure that this will be of interest to many of our readers.

(Signed) V. Vityukhin, editor of  
the newspaper "PRIMO", Leningrad  
Rayon, Dnepro Petlov.

[Text] (ed. - No. 2) Regulations Concerning the RAPO were approved last October. Such regulations are now being created in all the country's rural rayons. An agricultural-industrial association has been in existence in our republic in Vainitskiy Rayon. For almost a year now, I would think, Vitaliy Alexanderovich is able to describe the problems which arise in such an organization. The development of the RAPO and the features of activity after the first year.





introduction of the new management system would be a political task, the members of the

... responsibility, the personnel problem-solution, unemployment or fundamental importance is the creation of a RABU.

... second day, simultaneously, the problem of educating the personnel and broadening their horizons. ... I believe, I speak for you. Together with the youth of our republic's journalists are working on the formation of firm and enterprise, centers of a sense of responsibility and the qualities which we have mentioned: independence, initiative and enterprise. They are displaying themselves in the creation of the necessary conditions for work, supporting initiative and helping people with the skills of economic analysis. And the problem is not only in the fact of the publication of materials. It is in their multidimensional value. For example, any article of a journalist is always an agricultural enterprise. This is, as a rule, a result of the joint creative work of the author and the editorial office and a mutual exchange of knowledge, experience and viewpoints. And the article of a journalist qualifying the practice of this work or the author? This is also the joint work of the author and leaders and specialists, a joint analysis of what has been done and a quest for the personnel capable of producing a good "harvest" or, under other terms, of a further analysis of mistakes, deviations, discrepancies and misorientations. ... I would agree that such joint work directly promotes the personnel's growth.

... I would like to dwell in more detail on the education of personnel who experienced after all, our conversation also has been brought about. In a certain sense, by strengthening its popularization of the work practice of the collective farm.

... you are right, and were so in that particular significance is attached to valuable observations and successful initiatives in the organization and adjustment of the activity of the agrarian-industrial associations.

First, there is great educational force in the very participation of an extensive number of the people, which is the best collective. Second, familiar with the methods and means which secured success is valuable for its members. ... the more workers are able to report their experience, the more rapid and productive their production efficiency will grow. And if journalists grow out of such experience in general words and not otherwise it with their language, as before, ... there will be ...

... it goes on the experience of the collective RABU, which works on the collective's work and which methods of operation and management we can consider pertinent subjects for journalists' attention.

... Indian relations primarily. The system of relations is people who (the government) limited their efforts for the sake of the lower class. I speak both of the RABU leaders and the members of the agrarian-industrial associations, workers, direct, indirect and specialists of the enterprises serving agricultural production and, of course, the ordinary workers of the countryside and

[illegible]

See also: The subject of the RACIA's activity which, in my view, reveals the extreme 'cynical' attitude.



“A RDP was set up at the start of this year. This means that every village, township, and county government will be able to forward to ministers 10 suggestions annually, and that our national government, basing its results on the RDP’s actions in those 10 months with its own coordinated work projects, people’s interest and suggestions on the development of agriculture has been raised on a higher level.”

100-441876-118. Everything is seemingly correct, but the informant is a person of good name, visited by a person who is in no way related to the R.I. or involved with it.

to see that's just the point. And a further question. The engineer of the "Luzhansk" *komunist* writes affectionately about the *Interdynamo*'s construction organization. "Who are our good assistants," he exclaims and fervently, together with the newspaper's editors, that his soviet is a helper and propagator of the construction organization. It is obliged to build for the machine as well as it needs and built with the soviet's material and its money. This is why this organization exists.

Q. And in late 2008, did the republic party central committee reach out to the chairman of 2010 committee or the other?

(2) - (3) on agriculture. Over the process of a year and an agreement must be the officials of the agriculture-industrial complex are being developed, sufficient for individuality included. Consequently, it is necessary to support (and not to stop, from the support, if such a need arises. The terms of the policy development were with individuality are with others, and your internal also within your own system. The only thing I would like to say concerns this (the composition of the Central Committee Agriculture Department with the views.

For context, I did not frequently travel to the crime scenes with members of specific publications, radio and television stations, and police family units, etc.

Figure 11. The effect of water content,  $P_{\text{water}}$ .



country is given with us, the more so in that the possibilities of the way for the social development of the countryside and the villages, worker communities and the growing territories which have grown up nearby are truly enormous. The first possibilities are one of the arguments which are the most impressive and comprehensible to us in favor of the association. And we hope--also, avoiding by virtue of inertia and settled traditions--have begun to talk about this at the last moment, as of a secondary issue. We must find ourselves in the matter of regarding the creation of good conditions for the labor and social life of the rural workers as desirable, but not obligatory. As far as the "disbelief" of certain managers in the direct interconnection between concern for man and his labor input is concerned, the countryside will surely not manage without the help of scientists. I believe that sociological research conducted on the grounds of just one agrarian-industrial association alone will soon be capable to reveal the dependence between labor productivity and the conditions in which a person works and lives.

and one rather very important problem, which needs to be tackled by the managers, party workers and journalists together. In creating a good, healthy life for work, combating miscalculations and pointing what is positive it is necessary to strive to ensure that the tremendous resources being channeled into realization of the Food Program "produce results today even and tomorrow equitably," as N.S. Andropov said in his speech at the CPSU Central Committee November Plenum.

CHERNOBYL (radio) (from "Pravda", "Zurnalist", 1991)

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Doc: 11000/040

© 2004 The Author. Journal compilation © 2004 British Ecological Society, *Journal of Animal Ecology*, 74, 1021–1031

[illegible]WILLIAMS, C. M. (1988). 'The Issue of the Meritocracy Ordinal', *Journal of Management*, 14, 1-11.

[Footnote] In the society of developed nations this is directly violating human rights, local defenses, and more all crimes, are becoming expediently intolerable. The society all-normal state is using all means at its disposal to root out these universal phenomena. Criminal accountability occupies a special place there every month.

The application of criminal responsibility to minors who have committed crimes has a number of distinctive features. This applies in its entirety to what is a distinct problem for the sciences of Soviet criminal law.

The process of realizing criminal accountability takes place in time and goes through certain stages in which the person gives an account for those he engaged in the state for what was done and the state, represented by competent bodies, must demand an appropriate report. In other words, the process of realizing criminal accountability is a process of - arrest, rehabilitation, in connection with surrounding relations. These relations are regulated by the norms of substantive and procedural criminal law and consist of criminal law relations.

out even in that state. Does criminal accountability arise automatically, or is it a legal question? Several points in 2002 on this issue. The first was the question of the legal literature. It is stated that it is not a criminal accountability issue from the moment that one goes to court. It is a legal question. It is believed that it arises at the moment that the court takes legal action.









[illegible]









and the facts were distorted. No one tortured Prince Kazimieras, who lived in royal conditions--he died a natural death.

For a candidate for sainthood to have miracles on his record was indispensable. So the booklet wrote about Kazimieras' miracles, even though they happened after his death. Here is one of them. In 1518, Moscow's army was allegedly concentrated on the Daugava River and threatened to take Polockas (Polotsk). Rushing to save it the army of Grand Duchy of Lithuania had to cross the Daugava. King Zygimantas the Elder then began to pray and asked his brother for help. If he got it, the king promised to spare no effort in seeking to proclaim him saint. Wearing a white cloak, a prince then appeared in the sky on a white horse. He reached the ground and was the first to ride into the river. The waters parted and the army was able to cross the river at its deepest on horseback. Polotsk was saved, and a miracle happened, similar to one described in the Bible when, with the help from Moses, the children of Israel escaped from the Egyptians.

The historians established long ago that neither in 1518 nor in any other year had Zygimantas the Elder participated in wars with Russia. He was quietly passing time in Poland. Furthermore, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania army commander was not a Catholic but an Orthodox--the Great Hetman Konstantinas Ostroviskis.

Bishop (Fereris), who for his description of Kazimieras' life was generously rewarded, returned to Rome. In Lithuania, meanwhile, the bishops, prelates and monks were competing with each other in eulogizing the prince as a martyr and a miracle worker.

Pope Leonas (Leo) X died before he had the time to proclaim Kazimieras a saint, or perhaps he simply forgot it. The reformation movement was spreading wildly and brought many old worries to the new Pope and his bishops. Kazimieras' candidacy for sainthood had to take second place on his agenda and was forgotten. No longer was it of concern to either the Grand Duke Zygimantas Augustas, son of Zygimantas the Elder, or to Steponas Batoras, a Hungarian who ruled Poland and Lithuania after him. When the Jesuits became prominent in religious and political life and Zigmantas Vaza, a Swede, was elected king, Prince Kazimieras was remembered again.

A devout Catholic, brought up by Jesuits, Vaza was striving to consolidate his position, and promised his supporters to destroy the heretical Reformers and to force the Orthodox to submit to the Pope of Rome. Along with the Jesuits, he approached Pope Klemensas (Clement) VIII and got his consent to put Kazimieras on a list of saints. It was the time in Lithuania when the humanists, the reformers and all other progressive elements of society had to go into hiding.

And so, only 120 years after Prince Kazimieras' death, the Catholic Church finally recognized him as a saint.

All those who respect their nation's past must remember that the efforts of Lithuanian rulers and the Catholic Church to win the recognition of Kazimieras as a saint were closely related to political trends of the time, the struggle for power, and the desire to muffle the sounds of an earlier bourgeois revolution that was sweeping Europe and began to appear in Lithuania. Where this movement was suppressed, feudal reaction took over; saints and miraculous sites were discovered one after another; witches were burned; and the degradation of spiritual culture began. Prince Kazimieras had therefore nothing to do with what Lithuanian rulers and Jesuits were attributing to him in seeking to exploit his personality for selfish ends after his death.

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CSO: 897



